2: Damm et al.--86 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 772 Ifaluk

To the natives, the universe consists of the heavens (rán), the earth (seló́b) and the underworld (fariouál or ilól). They knew nothing about the world axis, that is found on Aurepik. The heaven is a large place, like Palau or Yap, and it is inhabited by people, similar to the ones on earth. These beings act like their earthly representatives, but the islanders could not say whether they too have to die, or not.

The underworld is arranged like the earth; that is, it has islands and oceans, and the sun, moon and stars shine when they have disappeared from the earth. It is also inhabited by men. Solál is the king; he is half man, half lówud (fish, snake or eel?); he does not have any parents, or any relatives. The large house, that he inhabits, is called Falisát; that is all the natives knew about it.

2: Damm et al. --142
116, 772

(1909) 1938

Woleaians
Aurupik

The natives believe that the universe can be divided into three parts: the heavens (rän), the earth (selɔ̈b), and the underworld (ilɔ̈l or faliolɔ̈l).

2: Damm et al. --197 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 772 Faraulep

In the heavens (lăń) there is a very large house (fatšumăl), where Alüelăp (also Eluelăp), who is a creature half man and half fish, stays, and where all good people go. Alüelăp created the world, he made the sun which shines on the earth during the day, and then casts its light on the underworld at night. He also made the lightning (worowŏr) and the thunder (bătš), and he uses them both to get rid of wicked people. Alüelăp is careful to see that everything on earth, in the whole universe in fact, is done in order.

4: Krämer--279 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 772 Woleai

Alúelap lived in the house called Fatsomal (sharp "ts") in heaven; the good souls, ngol go there, whereas the bad are sent to the im aliaf* the "house of fire."

*Unknown on Lamotrek.

28: Spiro--45-46
116, 772, 184

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-5
Ifalik

"Cosmogomy and cosmology: The following account was received from all five chiefs in a number of sessions. It is unknown or only vaguely known by the people, who would invariably respond to my questions with a confession of ignorance. As we shall observe in another connection, this ignorance of the people reflects their indifference to cosmological problems, since this knowledge is not taboo, and the chiefs, who are the repositories of this information have no compunctions about imparting it.

Like many other cultures, the concept of a creatio ex nihilo is completely absent in Ifaluk. There is no creator, the world having always existed. Nor were the chiefs concerned about the problem of first causes. When asked how the world came into being, they replied that they did not know; it was always there. At some time in the distant past--how far back they could not say, since they have no system of time notation--there appeared a primordial mother, Legobub. Again, her appearance is unexplained. Legobub had three children, whose creation is unaccounted for. That is, it is not known whether she fashioned them out of some material, or whether she conceived and gave birth to them. In any event, it is clear that she did not have a male consort, and however she created her children, she did so without male assistance. Having performed this function, she plays no further role, either in the mythology, theology, or functional religion of Ifaluk.

Legobub's three children were her son, Aluilap, whom she ordained as ruler of the sky; Solal, another son, ordained as ruler of the nether world; and Autran, a daughter,

who was later to create the people of the Caroline Islands. (1).

The natives have no term which corresponds to our words, universe, or cosmos, which would unite in one term the oceans, land, heavens etc. These are but so many discrete entities in their minds, and the concept for earth, as opposed to the heavens. There is land (falu), and there is ocean (tat), but again, there is no uniting of these two discrete entities into one conceptual term. Their term bwanifalu, which literally means, all the lands, is their most inclusive geomorphic frame of reference and is a descriptive, rather than a conceptual term. It means what it literally says, and refers to the fact that they recognise other lands besides their own. Bereft of maps, however, it is obvious that their knowledge of other lands is mere recognition, of their existence. Before contact, their knowledge of the world was limited to the Carolines, and this knowledge was more than mere recognition of the existence of other islands. It included a well defined spatial orientation, which enabled them to locate islands as distant as four hundred miles. With contact their quantitative information has been increased, but not their conceptual knowledge. Europe, which is their generic term for all the 'civilised' countries they have heard of, exists outside of the Carolines, but they haven't the slightest idea where.

"1. [See following sheet for footnote 1.]"

"1. [Footnote 1, pp. 45-46] Arogeligar, the priest-doctor, with whom I discussed these problems at great length, gave me an entirely different version. Here we have a problem, in what Herskovits has called, the question of 'ethnographic truth', in a most extreme form. For we have here not one informant differing from another, thus indicating variability, but we have the two only sources in the entire culture differing fundamentally --the political and the religious, both of whom profess to competence in these matters. Tom realised this difficulty, too, and solved it by saying that the chief's account was the authentic, whilst the other was spurious. In any event, the ignorance of the [46] people, the disagreement between chiefs and priest-shaman, and the lack of assurance with which the chiefs approached these matters--all indicate the unimportance of these matters and the people's lack of concern with them.

Arogeligar's creation story is as follows: At one time there was neither land nor water, nor sky. The sky was made by four brothers (sic)--Aluelap, Solan, Autran (Autran is a woman in the chiefs' account) and Metha (absent in the chiefs' account). Arogeligar did not know how these brothers came into being. After making the sky, Aluelap made the land and the oceans, first creating the high islands, (including 'Europe', by which the natives understand a vague 'island', including Japan, Germany, Spain, America, and other countries they may have heard of) and then the low islands. After creating the islands, he then created people to inhabit them.

The brothers then decided that Aluelap would remain in the sky, Solan would reside under the oceans, Autran would inhabit the atmosphere, and Metha would be in the speech of the people, for Metha is the native term for 'what.'"

The Carolines are called Iligalifalu, literally, 'the lands that are here', and as has already been indicated, (2) the natives are well oriented spatially within this area."

"2. Falu means land, but it is synonymous with island, since the only land the natives know is an island. My attempt to describe a land mass as large as the United States, evoked expresssions of incredibility and amazement. Taroman, one of the chiefs, finally concluded that Ifaluk was as a grain of sand, compared to America, which actually isn't far from wrong."

"Having created man and instituted his culture, Autran retired to the atmosphere, which was to remain her dwelling. Aluelap, it will be recalled, was assigned to the sky, (iang) which he still inhabits, as the chief of the sky-gods, with his wife, Metha (5) his son Lugeiling, and the latter's wife and sons. The name of their dwelling is Tatuma which is at the zenith of the sky.

In a vague and nebulour sense, Aluelap and his family may be designated as the protector deities. They 'look out for people', providing them with food, and protecting them from harm. But this is true, I repeat, only very vaguely. Arogeligar and the chiefs are the only persons who are at all conversant with theological matters, and they could provide no coherent or detailed descriptions of the activities of these deities.

"5. It will be recalled that Arogeligar related Metha to Aluelap as his brother. But both chiefs and Arogeligar agree that Metha has nofunction other than to be on the tongues of people, asking metha, (what) when they wish to know something.

The chiefs also differ from Arogeligar and Saafert, the latter two agreeing that Aluelaps eyes are closed, (for he is in a constant sleep) so that if someone [49] must speak with him, his son, Lugeiling, opens his eyes with a pole as large as a coconut tree. The chiefs disagree with this version, saying that at one time Aluelap was blind, but he gained his eyesight and now he can see."

Lugeiling makes a daily tour of the islands and reports to Aluelap on the activities of the people. Should the people misbehave--the entire society, that is, not a particular individual--Aluelap orders Lolal to inflict them with a typhoon and/or a tidal wave. (6).

This land in the sky, inhabited by Aluelap and his family, is a duplicate of the terrestial earth, having islands, ocean, trees, and so forth. But the conceptualization of this pantheon of 'high gods' is vague indeed. To such questions as to whether they were corporeal, whether they are, copulated, or manifested other physical and behavioral characteristics, the answer invariably was, 'I don't know--from before, before.' The mythology, on the other hand, definitely portrays them as anthropomorphic in all ways."

"6. According to Arogeligar, Aluelap also implants the soil in the Loetus. The chiefs deny this, though other people affirmed it."